1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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there. That it did not turn out to be "typical" in all respects is not surprising, given the relatively large numbers of people there are in Bornu and the range of variation that such a large population can quite normally exhibit.

For the first week or so in Magumeri, the Bornu Native Authority appointed a young man who was to serve as our interpreter and guide—telling the people our purpose in coming to live in their village and helping us to get settled into our new surroundings. At first the local Magumeri officials found it all hard to believe, and kept asking why we wanted to live right in the village, rather than reopening an old, deserted, and I suspected snake infested and ramshackle government rest house about a mile away. However, they politely accepted our firm desire to live in the village even if they disagreed with the idea. Soon I decided to live at the end of the plaza facing the district chief's compound, across the open 200 yards of sand which stretched between his house and mine. The interpreter helped with all these arrangements, and in the ten days he was with us I took down a rough outline of the entire culture using him as an informant. As an interpreter, he accompanied me to the compound of the village area head and we asked if I could take down his genealogy and that of some of his neighbors in order that people might become acquainted with the kinds of questions I would be asking later on. At the same time, my wife began compiling a short dictionary of Kanuri nouns, verbs, and useful phrases, using our interpreter as her major source.

For the next four months, we struggled to learn the language and to get our house built—it kept falling down all the time we lived in it—and to begin making a few friends. The first ten days had been so rich and fruitful that what came afterwards seemed all the harder to accept. Without the language, very little could be accomplished; we could watch but not ask questions about what it all meant. The local school teacher who knew very little English offered his help. He would teach us Kanuri, he said, help us to understand the customs of the people, if we would help him to learn English. And slowly this exchange blossomed into a close friendship that has lasted through the years. Slowly, too, little phrases of Kanuri conversation jumped out at us as understandable items from a background of unintelligible conversation. In about four months my wife and I could converse haltingly with one another, and in six months we were speaking—with an accent, with bad grammar, and a limited vocabulary—but we were speaking nonetheless.

During this first six months, several significant things happened that affected the course of our work. First, the district head who mistrusted us when we had arrived began to relax when nothing dire seemed to follow from our presence on his doorstep. Eventually he and I became friends and his acceptance of our presence in Bornu, and Magumeri in particular, along with his conviction that I was in fact studying the customs of his people, helped and many others followed his lead. Secondly, I became very ill with hepatitis, and had to leave Magumeri for two months. No one (we were told later) believed for a minute that we would ever return after such a dreadful illness—but we did. And our return was a triumphant one. For several days visitors poured in to tell us what had been happening during my illness, and what was going to happen, and so on. We had come home, we said, and Magumeri made us feel that it was indeed a homecoming.

Slowly but surely life settled into a pattern and my wife and I became identifiable members of the community and known throughout the entire emirate as "the Europeans of Magumeri."

587 of the wife, in numbers, bring her clothing and belongings through the streets to her new husband's home. Later that night the bride herself comes, accompanied by her very close friend (kususu). There is no ceremony corresponding to that which takes place when a virgin marries. The following day, her friends cook the morning meal for her. After that, she cooks her own food. A man with a previous wife who marries a zogor will [595] sleep with his new wife for three consecutive days. After the three initial days, he spends one night with each wife in regular rotation, as is the normal practice of a man with more than one wife.

589 Bachelors are very rare. The primary informant in this [115] area, Ya Mogorom, a woman of about fifty who is herself a grandmother several times, could not think of a single adult male who had never married, though she said that it did occasionally occur. Spinsters are just as rare, and Ya Mogorom could name only a sixteen year old girl who was not yet married as an example of an adult female who had never married. Common-law marriages as such do not occur. A woman living with a man but not married to him is his nəmgəmtəm, and is quite distinct from his wife as she never cooks for him. Until the age of fifty a zogor will remarry; beyond that she does not attempt to remarry. A man will remarry as long as he is able to have intercourse. Sometimes old people marry for convenience, after they can no longer have intercourse. She cooks his food, and he provides her with clothing and other things.

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Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 565 463 551 124	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

115 565 463 551 124 [634]	5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
		Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
		Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
		Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
		Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
		Kəngədi-	one of the important kabuna.
	6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
		Kazela Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
		Mastapha Alima-	a dyer.
		Malam Modu Kəlidama-	a leather-worker.
		Modu Kəlidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
		Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
	7. Talaka: (8)	Adamu-	a tabərma who sells in the market-place.
		Momadu Fərashəma-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
		Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
		Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
		Tijani-	a fətkema who sells in the market-place.
		Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
		Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
		Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

8. Low-status Individuals:

113	(4)	Bukar Mandalma-	a tanner.
551		Yahuda Gundama-	a praise-singer and drummer.
554		Mastapha Mandalma-	a tanner.
124		Abdu Gurzam-	a butcher.
463			

Total: 44 individuals.

601 available terminology which distinguishes their actual biological relationship refer back to relatives they have in common when describing or referring to the relationship, pointing out (if necessary) that their mothers' or fathers' are not the same person. This is part of a more general and commonly utilised rule of reference when speaking of kinship relations. In order to specify exactly what relationship exists between himself and some other person an individual most often gives the nearest common relative and then explains his own and the other person's relationship to the common relative. Thus an informant explains that he and his cross or parallel cousin have kakande tile (the same grandparent).

Behaviour Norms

602 The behaviour norms associated with the kinship organisation are classified into four overlapping categories. In Kanuri these are called mungu (shame or shame-avoidance), bàrzum (respect or discipline-respect), suli (joking) and numkam (friendship or fondness). Table I summarizes the manner in which these norms are distributed among three classes each of consanguinal and affinal kin. (1)

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(1) The information was obtained from 44 Kanuri males of Maiduguri, ranging across all class strata but more heavily representative of the lower classes. They responded to questions about their behaviour towards 33 different kin relations. The interviewer was instructed to ask subjects how they acted towards each of the relatives in question. In the opinion of the field assistant this was in fact the major consideration in the responses given to his questions. This seems to be corroborated when the questionnaire material is compared to qualitative data gathered independently. Other indications that the real rather than ideal culture is being reported are given by the blanks in the original notebooks when informants refused to answer. Their reasons for not responding were written down by the field assistant. In all cases, refusals were due to the subjects not having that particular relative. This supports the notion that informants were responding in reference to their actual behaviour towards the relative being asked about. However, such conclusions must not be taken too far for it is inconceivable that ideal patterns of behaviour had no effect on the responses of

12 Besides the usual anthropological procedure of participant observation, two other methods were used in obtaining information on economic life in Bornu. Firstly, a sample of seventy-five cultivators, chosen partly by their local political leaders and partly by personal consent,(1) was observed and questioned by a field assistant on agricultural production, food consumption, livestock and land tenure. The sample was drawn from three towns: Magumeri, Ngubura and Chingowa: each roughly six miles from the other points of a triangle. Farm plots were measured off, dates of planting, weeding and harvesting were recorded, and the produce from one acre of millet and one of groundnuts weighed for each cultivator. As reported by the farmers themselves, and checked by the interviewer, the sample consisted of the following occupational groupings:

TABLE X

[115]

Occupation	Number	Percentage of Sample
Farmers	25	33.3
Craftsmen #	16	21.3
Traders	17	22.7
Political and Religious Specialists	17	22.7
	75	100.0

Includes 4 "herders" - persons who tend other peoples livestock, mostly sheep and goats, for a fee, as their non-farming specialty.

Secondly, using intensive interviews and observation, the annual budgets of twenty-two household heads were constructed by extrapolating from daily and weekly figures on income and expenditure in cash and kind, as well as reported crop production.(2) No sampling procedures were used in gathering this material, since the traditional method of gaining rapport with informants was a major criterion in

(1) They were primarily involved in a demonstration of the potential improvement of farm yields with the use of superphosphate fertilizer.

[114] (2) A similar but more extensive (numerically) method has been used by Smith, M.G., The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, 1955.